Gender history: some reflections

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Crossing Frontiers, Resisting Identities / edited by Lud'a Klusáková, Martin Moll ; with Jaroslav Ira ... [et al.]. - Pisa : Plus-Pisa University Press, 2010
(Thematic work group. 5. Frontiers and Identities ; 5)

302.5 (21.)
1. Individuo e società I. Klusáková, Lud'a II. Moll, Martin III. Ira, Jaroslav

CIP a cura del Sistema bibliotecario dell'Università di Pisa

This volume is published thanks to the support of the Directorate General for Research of the European Commission, by the Sixth Framework Network of Excellence CLIOHRES.net under the contract CIT3-CT-2005-006164.
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Cover: Piet Mondrian (1872-1944), *View from the Dunes with Beach and Piers, Domburg*, 1909, painting, Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York
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Published by Edizioni Plus – Pisa University Press
Lungarno Pacinotti, 43
56126 Pisa
Tel. 050 2212056 – Fax 050 2212945
info.plus@adm.unipi.it
www.edizioniplus.it - Section "Biblioteca"

Member of

Association of American University Presses

ISBN: 978-88-8492-737-8

Editorial assistance
Viktoriya Kolp

Informatic editing
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The gender theme proved to be complex, complicated and, more than any other, provoked emotions. As gender is a concept studied by all disciplines of social sciences, it is in a way a frontier territory, strengthening self-identification of all researchers involved in the field. Simultaneously, the concept of gender is primarily about identity with clearly defined borders. Although we can see it as an obvious intersection of both identities and frontiers, calling for our attention, only a small number of members of the research group were willing to enter into the debate and work systematically on gender issues, which is remarkable in itself. The comparison of the results of the research produced by gender historians and the work of authors having a different methodological profile who decided to look at their long-term research from a new perspective is quite challenging. For those devoted to gender, the approach grounded in methodologies other than gender was often disturbing. The outcome of these exchanges of ideas hopefully brought new topics into the debate and enriched the methodologies, as can be seen in the volume *Paths to Gender*.

On following pages several members of the Network look back at some of the problems and dilemmas faced by gender historians as they approach the theoretical frontier of identity history, and highlight some of the issues surrounding the study of gender as regards frontiers and identities[52]. More than 20 years ago, Joan W. Scott wrote her famous article about gender as a useful category in historical research[53]. Since then, gender became one of the most significant and troublesome categories in historiography. Gender historians have been criticizing the "gender-blind" historiography for ignoring and excluding women from historical interpretations[54]. They maintain that traditional researchers actually produce a gendered, i.e. masculine representation of the past, being an inherent part of the hegemonic gender discourse of their time. Feminist criticism led to, and, at the same time, has been based upon a new historical research founded on the use of gender as an analytical category. This research questioned established "truths" and reinterpreted history, making it more complex and ambivalent[55]. No doubt, the category of gender has opened new issues and has transformed the interpretations of the past. It does not mean, however, that gender could or should replace other categories of analysis; it does not aspire to be

omni-explicative, as none of the categories is. To recognize gender in history means not to replace but to enlarge the already broad spectrum of analytical categories used in historical interpretation. Only in this sense, gender does not narrow perspectives for historians but opens them up:

> Using gender as a framework for analysis is simply to become more attentive to the possible consequences of one of the major axes of all social organization [...] When we undertake a gender analysis, we typically look at the relative positions of men and women in the social structure (their occupations, wealth, or political power, for example); the cultural definitions and expectations of the two sexes, and the difference in how men and women experience their lives[56].

It would be impossible to mention and reflect upon all significant dimensions and issues of gender history. Here we present only a few examples concerning our own interests and our experiences with using gender as an analytical category. We focus on the capacity of gender to shed light on the dynamics of power and on the symbolic structuring of social imagery, in the past and in the present.

Gender is crucial for interpreting where and how frontiers are established, how identities and hierarchies are construed. Relations of power, as well as the question of its legitimacy, have always been in the very centre of attention for historians and social scientists. In our opinion gender history offers new prospects in this context. Historically and culturally determined, the gender order was often used as a set of self-evident metaphors, a point of reference to describe, interpret and evaluate otherness and the unknown. One of the numerous examples is the construction of Muslim women in the hegemonic discourse that could only reluctantly be qualified as a Western one, as it includes Russia and other parts of the world that are generally left out of the category of the West. Historical analysis of the image of Muslim women eloquently confirms the way images of otherness remain fundamental for the construction of a self-representation. Since the 18th century until (at least) the first decades of the 20th century, the Muslim woman appeared in the hegemonic imagery as a hypersensual, hypersexual, seductive figure, corrupted and corrupting, whose impulses were out of her control; she was an object of pleasure and vehicle of trouble for both Western and Muslim men. She was perceived as a slave imprisoned in the harem, whose illegitimate, but efficient power consisted in the use of her sexuality. By the end of the 20th century, however, Muslim women become construed as de-romanticized, poor repressed victims of Muslim men, as someone totally powerless, deprived of any glamour and mystery. In comparison to the 19th century, Muslim women have become undoubtedly more visible, more present in the elite professions, more listened to in the public space, more active in claiming rights, equality and public participation. However, the image of Muslim woman in the hegemonic discourse, especially in countries where Muslim immigration is limited or recent, has been presenting her as even more passive and more powerless than she was 100 years ago. In our opinion, such a development

has to do more with changes in the way sexuality is significant in the construction of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity than with any social change in the life of real Muslim women[57].

Both images, the old and the new one, are characterized by passivity and by the lack of voice of the women. However, there are significant distinctions: there is a shift in the construction of the "emphasized", desirable female sexuality to which Muslim women constitute an image of the other: from a contained ("Victorian") one to a prolific, consumerist (contemporary) one. When restraint and chastity cease to be appreciated values of the emphasized femininity, the Muslim woman, formerly construed as a slave of her senses, becomes deprived of all sensuality and pleasure in the hegemonic imagery. The harem as a golden cage and as a place of *épanouisement* (distraction) and unrestrained consumerism has almost completely disappeared from the hegemonic image of Muslim women, although it still exists as a social institution in certain countries and social strata[58]. The 'proletarianization' of the contemporary image of the Muslim woman would certainly be worth deeper analysis. At a first glance, it resembles the Victorian image of a worker's wife who has to be protected from her violent husband by benevolent bourgeois ladies, as well as inculcated adequate values for her own good, so she could eventually recognize the superiority of the bourgeois moral order[59].

Hegemonic masculinity is construed in contrast to multiple others, including emphasized femininity, Muslim woman and Muslim man. On the one hand, a desirable hegemonic man is construed as capable of self-control, which is interpreted as a sign of civilization and as an essential quality for conquest and government. Moreover, the mechanisms of affirmation of hegemonic masculinity consist in the capacity of an indirect, sentimental control over women's minds, considered as superior to a direct repressive control of women's bodies, associated with Muslim men. There is a new emphasis on the hegemonic man as provider of pleasures of all kinds, as a metaphor of modern consumer-oriented capitalism. The disappearance of the harem from the image of Muslim men and Muslim women can be interpreted as a way of depriving the Muslim man of this role of pleasure-giver which was assigned to him during the long 19th century, when pleasures were considered corrupting and bore negative connotations in the hegemonic discourse. As we can see, hegemonic masculinity is always construed as superior to all images of otherness.

The victimization of Muslim women and the criminalization of Muslim men become fundamental in legitimizing both symbolical and physical intervention and domination. The case of Muslim women stands as an example of a gender analysis applied to the history of images and symbols[60]. However, it should not be reduced to it. It also represents a challenge to explore broader areas, inviting the researchers to examine how different conceptions of masculinity and femininity meet and change in a cross-cultural context, for example through the phenomena of migrations, with special attention to the perspective of subaltern groups and individuals whose experiences of otherness,

strategies of living in the receiving societies and processes of acculturation are now one of the key issues in terms of our contemporary world[61].

Another example deals with fiction as a source of historical knowledge, shaping both public memory and historiography, and as a vehicle of gendering and legitimizing power. Until recently, historical fiction has been considered as something irrelevant, and even as inappropriate, for the construction of historical knowledge. Nevertheless, historians have actively participated in the creation of movies and novels, and writers and scriptwriters have studied and incorporated historical sources, and even used methods of historical research (interviews, archive work, analysis of texts and images) in their work. CLIOHRES' TWG2 eloquently points to the use of historical fictions by popculture and the dramatization of identity-based memories in the introduction to their fourth volume devoted to rebellions and resistance[62].

After theorists and critical thinkers identified narrative as an unavoidable part of historical writing, the frontiers between historiography and historical fiction have been questioned and blurred. Thus, the door has been opened to the recognition of historical fiction as a relevant source of historical knowledge for the general public, too[63]. Furthermore, a hypothesis can be put forward, though it will surely be passionately contested and denied, that even professional historians' image of the past is partially construed through their life-long contact with historical fiction. In this context we shall examine how heteronormativity and legitimacy of power are intertwined in two works of historical fiction which offer a particular interpretation of historical events. Historians were consulted in the process of creation of both works. The TV series "Rome"[64], which deals with the power struggles in the last decades of the Roman Republic (1st Century BC), as well as the movie "Danton"[65], situated in the year II of the French Republic (Spring 1794), have been considered, praised and criticized as providing a relevant interpretation of a particular historical period to the general public. Moreover, they have been used during lectures at different levels of the educational system. Therefore, it is useful to point out how these works send significant messages to their contemporary audience through their particular interpretation of history[66].

One of these messages shared by both works is that only those who dominate women deserve being in power. One cannot govern legitimately if one fails to do it (Mark Anthony in "Rome") or if one is not interested in it (Robespierre in "Danton"). Thus, it seems, Mark Anthony and Cleopatra did not lose to Octavian because of the fact that Egyptian armies could not compete with Roman soldiers, but because Mark Anthony became degenerated/castrated by Cleopatra's Oriental female[67] influence during his stay in Egypt, while Octavian finally subdued his domineering mother[68]. Robespierre's power in Wajda's "Danton" is depicted as a monstrous one in contrast to the natural power of his political opponent. This contrast is not built by making the two revolutionaries play out their conflicting opinions on the means and aims of revolutionary government. Instead, Robespierre is construed as misogynous and his entourage as ho-

moerotic, while Danton is shown as a force-of-nature, a man of prolific sexuality who enjoys the company of prostitutes, as well as of his young wife, he and his friends being at the same time *bon vivants* and happy family men[69]. An analyst may ask whether the film-makers and the audience were aware of the interconnection between gender and the legitimacy of power, or whether the frame of reference was so obvious that it became invisible for either or both groups. Furthermore, an analyst may also examine if and how multiple interpretations are developed and whether they include the possibility to question and/or subvert the hegemonic narrative.

Gender analysis should not and does not limit itself to the level of a critical reading and plot-interpretation. Institutionalization of discursive practices renders the category of gender useful in identifying the ways politics, society and culture are construed, and how this leads to the imposition of very "real" limits on human action. It ranges from an unsubtle restriction of women's public activity reflected in and construed by notions such as *homme public/hombre público* (a politician) and *femme publique/mujer pública* (a prostitute) in 19th century France and Spain, to making female presence difficult in the highest levels of politics by institutionalizing the category of the First Lady. The category of the First Lady, besides reaffirming in the public space the role of the wife as subservient and complementary to that of her husband, renders ridiculous and hard to imagine the role of the First Gentleman, making difficult "private" negotiations between female politicians and their (male or female) partners. The fact that the recent spread of the First Lady figure to European politics paradoxically coincides with, or (not so paradoxically) responds to an important increase in the number of top female politicians, would be worth deeper analysis.

The growing emphasis on the body of male politicians might be a similar phenomenon. Politicians have recently actively sought to be presented to the voters semi-naked, displaying their fitness and indirectly their masculine potency. Sarkozy rowing, Putin riding a horse or Aznar showing off the results of his daily exercise appear as a sort of redefinition of the old link between the body of the king and the political body, pointing towards an evolution of contemporary politics towards personalization[70]. Moreover, the link established between physical power and political power can be interpreted as a reinvented tool of patriarchal domination, as the contemporary demands on the female body are far from an image of physical power. When fragility is praised in women and successful sportswomen are harassed in the press for looking too masculine, one cannot but observe with suspicion the competition of pectoral muscles that seems to be replacing the competition of arguments in top politics[71]. That example refers indirectly to bio-politics issues interpreted in order to reveal the process of imputation of meanings to gendered bodies, and their use to establish or change socio-cultural norms.

As we see, gender opens up a multitude of possibilities for historians. Several CLIOHRES contributions have concretely shown how this concept can build a new vista of already known phenomena and processes, and find new problems and questions. Among other

topics, the question of ideological interactions between feminism and nationalism has proven particularly fruitful and useful regarding our concerns with frontiers and identities, and shows how 19th-century nation-building has also been occasionally used as an ideological device promoting a "housewivery and motherhood ideology", thereby clearly setting boundaries to the conception of women's social role within the nation[72]. From a methodological point of view, these contributions generally enhance the necessity of a balance between theory and practice[73], but they also face genuine heuristic challenges in the use of their textual sources (for example, private sources like letters), which testify to a great variety of perspectives from the social actors who are studied: in other words, making gender "visible" as an identity-building factor is not always an easy task.

May this be one reason why historians often find gender troublesome[74]? Possibly, but another major issue consists as well in the controversies linked to the feminist background of gender studies. Many historians criticize gender historians for their ideological involvement, for their subjectivity, and, in consequence, for giving up methodological standards. Gender historians have responded with criticism of positivist and modern paradigms and have developed novel theoretical frameworks together with a variety of complex analytical tools, and metahistorical concepts[75]. Indeed, as long as history has been defined as a discipline aspiring to reconstruct past events and to recognize objective, neutral factors of changes, there seems to be little place for a gender interpretation. Since the postmodern turn, however, gender history has acquired legitimacy through new theoretical proposals, which constantly assert the critical dimension of gender as an analytical tool. This approach assumes the necessity of theoretical frames for historical research, as they enable historians to internalize the thesis of flexibility of gender and to prevent them from the unreflective imputation of contemporary meanings to historical gender orders. This is the path historians in the 19th century used to follow: they took their own concept of sexes and axiology concerning gender orders and attributed them to past events and historical actors. Positive figures like queens, saints or national heroines were presented in a frame of biologically predestined motherhood or virginity (as two positive patterns), while negative female actors were condemned for breaking the bourgeois moral norms, or for transgressing the "nature" of sex, and historians looked for such behaviour in the sources long enough eventually to find the evidence.

Paradoxically, what would make gender history difficult to define is also the very multiplicity of these critical theories, developed through the permanent de-construction, re-definition and diversification of the meanings of gender. One of the most significant examples of the process of gender-multiplication is the notion of "gender trouble" offered by Judith Butler, where the concepts of gender and the self were deconstructed in order to enhance identity's multiplicity and to question the real impact of psychological representations by focusing on performativity through a repetition of stylized acts as a central factor of identity[76]. This approach points out the limits and perils of this kind

of discourse based on a binary concept of gender. The very bipolar frame of women and men as the only possibility which contemporary historians – including many of those who do women's history – find so obvious and natural is subject to questioning. Many theoreticians argue this dichotomy is construed and re-construed in a particular space and time. Therefore, they point out, it may be misguiding to impose it on the past, as it makes it impossible to analyze historical phenomena transgressing the heteronormative order. Butler revisits the relations between gender and sex, and shows how gender, being a social expectation rather than an identity component, may actually determine how sex is socially constructed. Indeed, this criticism contested the naturalness of sex as a purely biological attribute, and set the discussion into an academic space where gender scholars meet biologists and physicians[77].

Some adherents of gender think that despite its usefulness, the ongoing theoretical debate might lead to a marginalization of gender in historiography, as many historians are confused and hesitate to introduce gender to their interpretative apparatus. A number of others would protest against it, seeing this as a paternalist statement, which will be counter-productive. But in the eyes of a gender specialist, still many historians do hesitate to use gender, and sometimes see it as a kind of weird academic chapel. Some others say "gender is not history, it is psychology". These attitudes do exist, and they are not marginal. Viewed by an anthropologist, maybe the reason for the hesitation of "average" historians to use gender is the methodological uneasiness – gender seems to them more as an approach to the historical theme than an analytical method; and, besides, gender history is a markedly socially committed approach, a fact that can discourage many historians aiming at "objectivity" and the "neutrality" of research.

Reciprocity between gender and general history is especially required. If we ask ourselves what the task of a historian is, we may agree on the potential of historical analysis to question (or produce) commonplaces and to deconstruct (or reaffirm) the hegemonic discourse. When the reference to the truth becomes radically questioned, as nowadays, what prevents historiography from becoming a factory of stories that are comfortable and self-satisfying for one or another audience? If there are no "objective" criteria to refer to, shall we judge the quality of an historiographical interpretation by its capacity of persuasion? These questions are unavoidably appealing to any historian or social scientist who uses categories in order to identify, analyze and interpret cultural patterns or relations of power, including that of gender.

On the other hand, gender historians (at least some of them) are criticized for their tendency to use exclusively gender, separately from other analytical categories. Paradoxically, if the feminist discourse takes into consideration only the gender category, it can contribute to making invisible those dynamics of exclusion and/or hierarchization fuelled by factors referring to class, race or so-called "cultural capital"[78]. Such one-dimensional explanation would, of course, be nothing but a simplification and misinterpretation of the past. Elizabeth I of England was neither exclusively a queen, nor

only a woman. Therefore, the interpretation of her reign or power relations at the court requires the simultaneous analysis of several aspects and their combination. The history of 19th-century colonialism provides even more distinctive examples concerning power relations between white, middle- and upper-class women and men coming from the colonized societies. Superiority of the former over the latter can be explained only with gender and race taken into consideration together[79].

Both tendencies of essentialism and exclusiveness can lead to the misuse of gender in historical research. To avoid it, historians adopt and adapt proposals from the social sciences in a quest for tools to facilitate a more complex and multifaceted analysis. Two inspirations are especially efficient in terms of the development of gender history and of history itself. The implementation of sociological tools enables us to examine interactions of gender, class, race, ethnicity as the basis of social structures, power relations, and their dynamics. The other approach referring to cultural studies is used by historians dealing with gender representations of otherness and the self, normative dimensions of social practice, and with acts of transgression of the gender order, to mention but a few. It is precisely the fruitful interchange between both methodological approaches that makes the analysis particularly sophisticated. It allows both using and questioning the very categories of class, race and gender, paying attention to their historicity and construed character.

Nonetheless, this does not mean that we have to close ourselves completely to other critical debates around gender and sex, and one should be aware of the empirical potentialities of other approaches. For instance, Laurent Gaissad proposes to focus on the notion of "moral territory" for combining frontiers, identities and gender studies into innovative empirical enquiries[80]. Finally, we should keep in mind that the psychological dimension of gender is likely to stimulate further research on identities, especially by enlightening the articulations between individual and collective identities, a field which, quite strangely, has not received as much attention from historians as it should[81]. Gender was functioning in our project as a discussion-provoking theme, and, although it is not a new field, it is still raising emotions even among scholars. Among the interests of our thematic work group, gender was somewhat marginal, but appeared present in our published research as an intersection of identity and symbolic frontiers. The gender perspective appeared as an integral part of the construction of national, social, or cultural identities, and in this direction maybe sought inspiration for future research.

Notes

[1] We all thank Martina Krocová and Martin Moll for their comments.

[2] D.S. Massey, *The Social and Economic Origins of Immigration*, in "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science", 1990, 510, 1, pp. 60-72.

[3] See the third edition of the insightful introduction of Jan and Leo Lucassen, in J. Lucassen (ed.), *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, Bern 2005, pp. 9-38.

[4] See in particular the second book of CLIOHRES Thematic Work Group 5, S.G. Ellis, L. Klusáková (eds.), *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities*, Pisa 2007.

[5] See as standard references L.P. Moch, *Moving Europeans: migration in Western Europe since 1650*, Bloomington - Indianapolis 2003 [1992]; K.J. Bade, *Migration in European History*, Malden MA 2003.

[6] Following notably D. Hoerder, *People on the Move: Migration, Acculturation, and Ethnic Interaction in Europe and North America*, Providence RI 1993; N. Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800*, Oxford - New York 1994.

[7] J.J. Mangalam, *Human Migration. A Guide to Migration Literature in English, 1955-1962*, Lexington KE 1968.

[8] See, for example, *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, New York 1968.

[9] E.G. Ravenstein, *The Laws of Migration*, in "Journal of the Statistical Society of London", 1885, 48, 2, pp. 167-235; 1889, 52, 2, pp. 241-305.

[10] Internal migrations are defined as those which take place within the country of residence, e.g. migrations from rural areas to cities or from one region to another.

[11] K. Slany, *Miedzy przymusem a wyborem. Rozprawy habilitacyjne* [Between coercion and choice. Habilitation], thesis no. 295, Cracow 1995.

[12] W. Petersen, *A general typology of migration*, in "American Sociological Review", 1958, 23, pp. 256-266; A. Maryański, *Migracje w świecie* [Migrations in the world], Warsaw 1984.

[13] P. Clark, D. Souden, *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, London 1988.

[14] See Moch, *Moving Europeans* cit.; Bade, *Migration* cit.

[15] Referring to the methodological framework established, in particular, by N. Green, *The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies*, in Lucassen, *Migration* cit., pp. 58-72.

[16] Various articles have been dedicated to this by the CLIOHRES network, especially in A.K. Isaacs (ed.), *Immigration and Emigration in Historical Perspective*, Pisa 2007.

[17] A. Hansen, A. Oliver-Smith (eds.), *Involuntary Migration and Resettlement: The Problems and Responses of Dislocated People*, Boulder CO 1977.

[18] Z. Mach, *Niechciane miasta: migracja i tożsamość społeczna* [Unwanted cities: migration and collective identity], Cracow 1998.

[19] P. Sharpe (ed.), *Women, gender and labour migration. Historical and global perspectives*, London 2001.

[20] G. Power, *Migration and Identity in Early Modern Ireland: the New English and the Pale Community*, in Ellis, Klusáková, *Imagining Frontiers* cit., pp. 243-262; N.P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*, Oxford 2001.

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[22] D.S. Massey, *March of Folly: U.S. Immigration Policy After NAFTA*, in "The American Prospect", March - April 1998, 37, pp. 22-33.

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[27] See O. Seweryn, *Identity Change as a Consequence of the Migration Experience*, in Ellis, Klusáková, *Imagining Frontiers* cit., pp. 21-42.

[28] A. Sayad, *The Suffering of the Immigrant*, Cambridge - Malden MA 2004; Z. Mach, A. Paluch (eds.), *Sytuacja mniejszościowa i tożsamość* [Minority Situation and Identity], Cracow 1992; G. Scidà, *Globalizzazione e Culture: Lo Sviluppo Sociale fra Omogeneità e Diversità* [Globalisation and Culture. Social development between Homogeneity and Diversity], Milan 1990.

[29] O. Daniel, *Gastarbajteri: Rethinking Yugoslav Economic Migrations towards the European North-West through Transnationalism and Popular Culture*, in Ellis, Klusáková, *Imagining Frontiers* cit., pp. 277-302.

[30] M. Junila, *From Dynamic to Declining: Mass Emigration from Northern Finland to Sweden, 1960-75*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 303-317.

[31] See the narratives of Italian immigrants in Great Britain in the late 20th century, A.M. Fortier, *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity*, Oxford 2000.

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[34] L. Teulières, *Immigration and National Identity: Historiographical Perspectives in France*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 43-58.

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[36] See the forthcoming encyclopaedia by K.J. Bade, P.C. Emmer, L. Lucassen, J. Oltmer (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Migration in Europe since the 17th Century*, New York - Cambridge; a German version was published *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich 2007.

[37] M. König, R. Ohliger (eds.), *Enlarging European Memory: Migration Movements in Historical Perspective*, Ostfildern 2006.

[38] We all thank Steven Ellis, Martin Moll and Andrew Sargent for their helpful comments.

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[48] W. Reinhard, *Gegenreformation als Modernisierung? Prolegomena einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters*, in "Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte", 1977, 68, pp. 226-251; Id., *Sozialdisziplinierung – Konfessionalisierung – Modernisierung: Ein historiographischer Diskurs*, in N.B. Leimgruber (ed.), *Die Frühe Neuzeit in der Geschichtswissenschaft: Forschungstendenzen und Forschungserträge*, Paderborn - Munich - Vienna - Zurich 1997, pp. 39-55.

[49] F. Rexroth, *Wissen, Wahrnehmung, Mentalität: Ältere und jüngere Ansätze in der Geschichtsschreibung*, in L. Grenzmann, T. Haye, N. Henkel, T. Kaufmann (eds.), *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. I. Konzeptionelle Grundfragen und Fallstudien (Heiden, Barbaren, Juden)*, Berlin - New York 2009, pp. 1-22.

[50] See also D. Martykánová, F. Peyrou, R. Mazzucchi, J. Reboton, F. Pedersen, A.K. Isaacs, G. Lottes, K. German, R. Lokk, H. Rohtmets, *Discrimination, Tolerance and Institutions in European History*, in Hálfdanarson, *Discrimination and Tolerance* cit., pp. 41-76, at pp. 53-58.

[51] H.-J. Becker, *Die Stellung des kanonischen Rechts zu den Andersgläubigen: Heiden, Juden und Ketzer*, in Grenzmann, Haye, Henkel, Kaufmann, *Wahrnehmung* cit., pp. 101-123.

[52] The co-authors thank Markéta Křížová and Luďa Klusáková for their critical comments.

[53] J.W. Scott, *Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis*, in "American Historical Review", 1986, 91, pp. 1053-1075.

[54] About the concept of gender blindness see M. Ishizu, K. Schrijvers, *Gender Blindness in Teaching and Research: Case Studies on Belgian Political History and British Economic History*, in B. Waaldijk (ed.), *Professions and Social Identity. New European Historical Research on Work, Gender and Society*, Pisa 2006, pp. 63-79.

[55] The History of French Revolution is one of the most significant examples of the "classical" interpretations questioned by feminist and gender historians, who pointed out that the way historians presented and interpreted changes in legislation arose due to lack of women's issues. See S.E. Melzer, L.W. Rabine (eds.), *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, New York 1992; O.H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*, Toronto 1992; C. Montfort-Howard (ed.), *Literature Women and the French Revolution of 1789*, Birmingham AL 1994.

[56] L.J. Weitzman, D. Ofer, *Introduction. The Role of Gender in the Holocaust*, in Id. (eds.), *Women in the Holocaust*, New Haven CT - London 1998, p. 2.

[57] On analytic categories of "hegemonic masculinity" and "emphasized feminity", see R.W. Connell, *The State, Gender and Sexual Politics*, in "Theory and Society", 1990, 19, pp. 507-544; R.W. Connell, J.W. Messerschmidt, *Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept*, in "Gender and Society", 2005, 19, pp. 829-859; D.Z. Demetriou, *Connell's Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique*, in "Theory and Society", 2001, 30, pp. 337-361; M. Donaldson, *What is Hegemonic Masculinity?*, in "Theory and Society", 1993, 22, pp. 643-657; M. Kimmel, *Masculinidades globales: restauración y resistencia*, in C. Sánchez-Palencia, J.C. Hidalgo (eds.), *Masculino Plural: construcciones de la masculinidad*, Lleida 2001, pp. 47-75.

[58] The romantic image of the harem has, of course, little to do with the everyday reality of the vast majority of Muslim women in the 19th century. Generally, the harem referred to the womenfolk of a house-

hold or to the parts of the house which were only accessible to women and to those men who were kin to the family. A royal or imperial harem might be closer to the romantic image of it, though still very far from the rooms inhabited by crowds of "women dressed in their jewellery" we may see on the paintings of Ingres or Delacroix. For a credible 18th- and 19th-century description of harem, one should check female witnesses, as the descriptions offered by men tend to be wishful thinking. See, for example, the memories of Mary Wortley Montague, wife of the British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, who frequented upper class Ottoman ladies in the beginning of the 18th century. See M. Wortley Montagu, *The complete letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Oxford 1965-1967.

[59] On the Euro-American discourse on Muslim women see E. Saïd, *Orientalism*, New York 1978; R. Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient*, Bloomington IN 1986, or, more specifically, L. Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving? Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others*, in "American Anthropologist", 2002, 104, pp. 783-790; M. Kalf, *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman: From Termagant to Odalisque*, Austin TX 1999; B. Kowalska, *Islam and the West on Fundamentalism, Democracy and Western Answer*, in "Hemispheres. Studies on Culture and Society", 2007, 22, pp. 47-56.

[60] On gendered images see A. De Toni, *Photography as a Source: the Changing Representation of the Image of Mafia Women by the Italian Press*, in A. Pető, K. Schrijvers (eds.), *Faces of Death. Visualising History*, Pisa 2009, pp. 121-146.

[61] On issues of gender and migration see P. Preto, *The Women of the Murano (Venice) Glassworks: Work and Emmigration*, in Waaldijk, *Professions* cit., pp. 81-88; S. Metz-Göckel, M. Morokvasic, A.S. Münst (eds.), *Migration and Mobility in an enlarged Europe. A gender perspective*, Opladen - Farmington Hills 2008.

[62] H. Jensen (ed.), *Power and Culture: Rebellion and Resistance*, Pisa 2009.

[63] The most famous study on the plot in history writing is by Hayden White; for a study on a historical phenomenon in cinematography see, for example, N. Zemon Davis, *Slaves on Screen: Film and Historical Vision*, Toronto 2000.

[64] B. Heller, W.J. MacDonald, J. Millius (writers), *Rome*, HD Vision Studios, BBC, HBO, 2005-2007.

[65] A. Wajda (director), *Danton*, Les Films du Losange, Gaumont, TF1, SFPC, Film Polski, 1983.

[66] In this volume, see A. Larguèche, A. Sargent, E. Kalivodová, J. Ira, *Resistances in the field of frontiers and identities: a new connecting theme or an interdisciplinary tool for comparative research?*

[67] The use of common stereotypes, progressively and slowly built up since Herodotus, who first depicted the Greco-Persian Wars and saw them as a conflict between the free West and its courageous and virile Greek soldiers, against the feminine slaves of despotic Oriental tyrants. These clichés, construing the opposition between the West and the East, were also very present in the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* of Edward Gibbons (18th century), and it would be interesting to see if the authors of the TV series *Rome* have used this book as a historical source.

[68] About the feminization of the Orientals in contemporary fictional works, see A. Larguèche, A. Sargent, E. Kalivodová, J. Ira, *Resistances in the Field of Frontiers and Identities*, in this volume, p. 108.

[69] M.-H. Huet, *Mourning Glory: The will of the French revolution*, Philadelphia PA 1997; E. Vause, *The Crimes of Robespierre*, in www.angelfire.com/ca6/frenchrevolution89/Danton.doc

[70] http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/gallery/2009/aug/04/vladimir-putin-russia-holiday
http://www.liberation.fr/medias/010119434-paris-match-gomme-les-poignees-d-amour-de-sarkozy
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[71] http://www.sportsscientists.com/2009/08/caster-semenyg-male-or-female.html
http://mondediplo.com/2000/10/15womensport
http://www.maxim.co.uk/features/top-tens/17953/top_10_sports_women_who_could_be_male.html

[72] For example, E.H. Halldórsdóttir, *Constructing Identity. A Critical Assessment of the Gender Perspective in Icelandic Historiography*, in Waaldijk, *Professions* cit., pp. 135-151.

[73] *Ibid*., p. 145.

[74] Ishizu, Schrijvers, *Gender Blindness* cit.

[75] L. Hunt, *The Challange of Gender: Deconstruction of Categories and Reconstruction of Narratives in Gender History*, in H. Medick, A.Ch. Trepp (eds.), *Geschlechtergeschichte und Allgemeine Geschichte: Herausforderungen und Perspektiven*, Göttingen 1998, pp. 57-97.

[76] J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York 1990.

[77] See, for example, S. Kessler, *The medical construction of gender: case management of intersexed infants*, in "Signs: Journal of women and culture in society", 1990, 16, pp. 3-26.

[78] P. Bourdieu, *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris 1979.

[79] D. Ferens, *Białe turystki na Dalekim Wschodzie: Płeć i rasa w XIX-wiecznej etnografii* [White tourists in the Far East: Gender and Race in 19th century ethnography], in M. Radkiewicz (ed.), *Gender w humanistyce* [Gender in the Humanities], Cracow 2001, pp. 289-298. Many texts by Ann Stoler, for example, A. Stoler, *Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures*, in "American Ethnologist", 1989, 16, pp. 634-660; see also M. Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century*, New York 1995.

[80] L. Gaissad, *The Moral Territory: Sexual Frontiers and Identities in Urban/Rural Historiography*, in L. Klusáková, L. Teulières (eds.), *Frontiers and Identities: Cities in Regions and Nations*, Pisa 2008, pp. 33-48.

[81] In this volume, see the opening chapter by M. Krocová, M. Řeznik.

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